

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 SMS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /090 W  
-----106806 161421Z /53

P 161325Z AUG 78

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5620

INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 19571

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UR, JA, CH, PEPR

SUBJECT: SOVIET REACTION TO PFT SIGNING: BITS AND  
PIECES

REF: MOSCOW 19336

SUMMARY: SOVIET IGNORING OF JAPANESE REQUEST FOR  
EARLY SEPTEMBER MEETING OF VICE-FOREIGN MINISTERS  
MAY REPRESENT SOVIET DISPLEASURE AT PFT  
SIGNING. DEPUTY FM FIRYUBIN DISAGREES WITH JAPANESE  
CHARGE'S EXPLANATION OF PFT. "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM"  
IN DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES HERE IS THAT SOVIETS WILL BE  
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WARY OF DOING ANYTHING THAT WILL CAUSE LONG-TERM  
DAMAGE TO SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. HOWEVER, PFT  
SIGNING, COMBINED WITH CURRENT DIPLOMATIC TRENDS  
IN ASIA AND ELSEWHERE, COULD CONCEIVABLY LEAD  
SOVIETS TO RESPOND WITH A HARDER LINE. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE IS A WIDE RANGE OF SPECULATION IN DIP-

LOMATIC CIRCLES HERE ABOUT POSSIBLE SOVIET  
"COUNTER-MEASURES" AGAINST JAPAN. PRIOR TO PFT  
SIGNING, SOVIETS WARNED PUBLICLY AND PRIVATELY THAT  
JAPAN SHOULD NOT SIGN ON PRC TERMS. SOVIET  
COMMENTARY SINCE AUG. 12 SIGNING UNAMBIGUOUSLY  
CHARGES TOKYO WITH HAVING CAPITULATED TO PRC TERMS.

2. A JAPANESE DIPLOMAT HERE TELLS US TOKYO PRO-  
POSED LAST MONTH THAT SOVIET-JAPANESE VICE-FOREIGN  
MINISTERIAL LEVEL TALKS AGREED ON DURING SONODA'S  
JANUARY VISIT TO MOSCOW BEGIN WITH FIRYUBIN VISIT  
TO TOKYO IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. DESPITE CONTINUED  
PRODDING BY JAPANESE FOR RESPONSE TO INVITATION,  
SOVIETS HAVE NOT REPLIED. JAPANESE SOURCE BELIEVES  
SOVIETS WILL CONTINUE TO IGNORE JAPANESE REQUESTS  
TO SCHEDULE MEETING AS A SIGN OF DISPLEASURE AT  
PFT SIGNING. HE SAID JAPANESE ARE ALSO WATCHING  
TO SEE IF AMBASSADOR POLYANSKIY IS DETAINED IN  
MOSCOW.

3. DURING AUG. 14 CALL BY JAPANESE CHARGE TO  
PRESENT JAPANESE STATEMENT ON PFT (STATEMENT ALSO  
DELIVERED IN WASHINGTON AND OTHER CAPITALS), SOVIET  
DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN GAVE LITTLE INDI-  
CATION OF ANY POSSIBLE SOVIET "COUNTER-MEASURES"  
AGAINST JAPAN. AFTER HEARING JAPANESE CHARGE'S  
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EXPLANATION OF TOKYO'S VIEW OF PFT, FIRYUBIN  
REPEATED BASIC ELEMENTS IN DEMCHENKO COMMENTARY  
IN AUG. 13 PRAVDA. HE HELD THAT:

-- THE SOVIET UNION DISAGREES WITH THE JAPANESE  
POSITION THAT ARTICLE FOUR "NEUTRALIZES" THE  
"DANGEROUS CHARACTER" OF THE PFT. ON THE CONTRARY,  
HE STATED, THE "DANGEROUS CHARACTER" OF THE TREATY  
IS RETAINED IN PFT IN ITS FINAL FORM, DESPITE  
JAPANESE CLAIMS;

-- THE PRC IS PURSUING AN ANTI-SOVIET, EXPANSIONIST  
POLICY, AS EVIDENCED BY CHINA'S PRESSURES ON VIETNAM;

-- THE SOVIET UNION WILL BE WATCHING TO SEE IF  
JAPAN, AFTER SIGNING THE PFT, WILL BE DRAWN INTO  
THE ORBIT OF CHINESE POLICY. THE QUESTION OF  
WHETHER JAPAN MAINTAINS A POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP  
WITH THE SOVIET UNION MUST BE SHOWN BY DEEDS.  
"WE BELIEVE IN FACTS," FIRYUBIN ASSERTED.

4. FIRYUBIN STATED FURTHER: "TIME WILL SHOW

EVERYTHING AND WILL CONFIRM WHAT I HAVE BEEN SAYING.  
ANYWAY, JAPAN HAS BEEN IN TOO MUCH OF A HURRY.  
THIS IS A SUDDEN TURNABOUT." (FIRYUBIN'S COMMENTS,  
LIKE EARLIER STATEMENTS BY SOVIET MFA JAPAN  
AND PRC SPECIALISTS ABDURAZAKOV AND ARKHAROV,  
STRIKE US AS SOVIET ATTEMPT TO IMPRESS UPON JAPANESE  
THAT SOVIETS WERE BANKING ON TOKYO TO ABIDE BY  
PREVIOUS "ASSURANCES" AND NOT AGREE TO PRC TERMS.  
NOW THAT - IN SOVIET EYES - TOKYO HAS MADE ITS  
"SUDDEN TURNABOUT," "VIOLATED" THESE ASSURANCES  
AND INJURED SOVIET INTERESTS, IT IS INCUMBENT ON

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
ICA-11 SMS-01 ACDA-12 OMB-01 TRSE-00 /090 W  
-----106953 161421Z /53

P 161348Z AUG 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5621  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MOSCOW 19571

JAPAN TO COMPENSATE BY INSTILLING SOME MOMENTUM  
IN SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS. IN THIS REGARD,  
MOSCOW MAY BE LOOKING FOR JAPANESE FLEXIBILITY ON  
THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE TO GET NEGOTIATIONS  
ON A SOVIET-JAPANESE PEACE TREATY OR THE SOVIET  
SUGGESTED GOOD NEIGHBORLY TREATY UNDERWAY. SOVIETS  
MAY ALSO BE LOOKING FOR JAPANESE WILLINGNESS TO  
INVEST MORE IN SIBERIA, OR CLEAR INDICATIONS THAT  
TOKYO DOES NOT INTEND TO COORDINATE WITH  
PEKING'S ANTI-SOVIETISM.)

5. JAPANESE SOURCE CITED ABOVE READ FROM CLASSIFIED CABLE REPORTING THOSE PORTIONS OF JAPANESE MFA OFFICIAL MIYAZAWA'S AUG. 12 STATEMENTS TO JAPANESE PRESS WHICH WERE NOT CLEARED FOR PUBLICATION.  
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MIYAZAWA REPORTEDLY STATED HIS "PERSONAL" BELIEVE THAT:

-- THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT REALLY ANTICIPATE THAT JAPAN WILL COLLUDE WITH THE PRC AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION;

-- MOSCOW WOULD HAVE CRITICIZED JAPAN FOR PFT CONCLUSION, REGARDLESS OF THE ACTUAL CONTENTS OF PFT;

-- SOVIETS WILL NOT TAKE MOVES AGAINST JAPAN SINCE THIS WOULD NOT BE PROFITABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION;

-- SOVIETS WILL CLOSELY WATCH UPCOMING KOMO VISIT TO PRC FOR INDICATIONS OF TRENDS IN SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

6. JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC SOURCE STATED FURTHER THAT "MOST" OFFICIALS IN JAPANESE MFA BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS WILL NOT STRONGLY RETALIATE AGAINST JAPAN FOR PFT SIGNING BECAUSE THIS WOULD MERELY PUSH JAPAN CLOSER TO CHINA. HE AGREED WITH CHINESE DIPLOMAT'S OBSERVATION HERE THAT SOVIET REACTION WILL FOLLOW MIG-25 PATTERN. SOVIETS WILL EMPHASIZE PROPAGANDA ATTACKS, PERHAPS TAKE SOME STEPS IN THE FISHERIES OR EXCHANGES AREAS, BUT WILL AVOID ANYTHING THAT WOULD THREATEN LONG-TERM DAMAGE TO SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS.

7. COMMENT: CHINESE DIPLOMAT'S SPECULATION REPRESENTS THE "CONVENTIONAL WISDOM" HERE. WHILE IT MAY BE NEAR THE MARK, WE TEND TO THINK SOVIETS WILL BE WEIGHING THEIR REACTION IN THE CONTEXT OF TRENDS WHICH WERE NOT SO READILY APPARENT AT THE TIME OF THE MIG-25 INCIDENT, INCLUDING THE ACTIVIZATION OF  
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PRC FOREIGN POLICY, MOVEMENT TOWARD SINO-U.S. NORMALIZATION, THE DEMONSTRATED U.S. INTENTION TO REMAIN INVOLVED IN ASIA AFTER VIETNAM, AND DETERIORATING SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS. THESE TRENDS COULD CUT TWO

WAYS: AS ARGUMENTS FOR A GUARDED SOVIET RESPONSE  
TO PFT SIGNING, OR AS ARGUMENTS FOR A HARD LINE  
WHICH COULD CONCEIVABLY INCLUDE A MORE PROMINENT  
SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE IN THE FAR EAST. TOON

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 16 aug 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014